

CONFERENCE OF THE EIGHTEEN-NATION COMMITTEE
ON DISARMAMENT

ENDC/PV.354
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THE UNIVERSITY
OF MICHIGAN

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DOCUMENT
COLLECTION

FINAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-FOURTH MEETING

held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva,
on Thursday, 7 December 1967, at 10.30 a.m.

Chairman:

Mr. A.A. ROSHCIN

(Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)

GE.67-25863

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PRESENT AT THE TABLE

<u>Brazil:</u>	Mr. A. da COSTA GUIMARAES Mr. J. NOGUEIRA FILHO
<u>Bulgaria:</u>	Mr. K. CHRISTOV Mr. B. KONSTANTINOV
<u>Burma:</u>	U KYAW MIN
<u>Canada:</u>	Mr. A.G. CAMPBELL Mr. A. BERNIER
<u>Czechoslovakia:</u>	Mr. P. WINKLER Mr. V. VAJNAR Mr. J. STRUCKA
<u>Ethiopia:</u>	Mr. A. ZELLEKE
<u>India:</u>	Mr. V.C. TRIVEDI Mr. K.P. JAIN
<u>Italy:</u>	Mr. R. CARACCILO Mr. G.P. TOZZOLI Mr. E. FRANCO Mr. F. SORO
<u>Mexico:</u>	Miss E. AGUIRRE
<u>Nigeria:</u>	Alhaji SULE KOLO Mr. B.O. TONWE
<u>Poland:</u>	Mr. A. CZARKOWSKI Mr. E. STANIEWSKI
<u>Romania:</u>	Mr. O. IONESCO Mr. C. GEORGESCO Mr. A. COROIANU Mr. C. MITRAN
<u>Sweden:</u>	Mr. A. EDELSTAM Mr. R. BOMAN

Union of Soviet Socialist
Republics:

Mr. A.A. ROSHCHIN
Mr. R.M. TIMERBAIEV
Mr. V.V. SHUSTOV
Mr. V.B. TULINOV

United Arab Republic:

Mr. H. KHALLAF
Mr. O. SIRRY
Mr. M. SHAKER

United Kingdom:

Mr. I.F. PORTER
Mr. R.I.T. CROMARTIE

United States of America:

Mr. W.C. FOSTER
Mr. S. DePALMA
Mr. C.G. BREAM
Mr. A.F. NEIDLE

Special Representative of the
Secretary-General:

Mr. D. PROTITCH

1. The CHAIRMAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translation from Russian): I declare open the 354th plenary meeting of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.
2. Mr. FOSTER (United States of America): It is our understanding -- and from the document in front of me it appears that indeed the understanding is correct -- that all Committee members have been provided with copies of the revised interim report (6 December) which the co-Chairmen propose for submission to the United Nations General Assembly and the United Nations Disarmament Commission. Following our meeting on 5 December, the co-Chairmen discussed extensively all the suggestions and arguments which were presented here. We think it will be apparent to all who have compared the first draft of the interim report with the present text that the co-Chairmen have been able to incorporate either the precise words or the substance of virtually all the textual changes that were proposed.
3. After further consideration, however, the co-Chairmen concluded that they must reaffirm their view that the documents should not be attached to the interim report. I can assure members of the Committee that the co-Chairmen fully appreciated the constructive and sincere motives of those who wished to submit our documents to the General Assembly. As a number of speakers have recognized, we have done important and valuable work in this Committee. It is desirable that this work, in which all have participated, be reflected in the report. As members of the Committee will have noted, paragraph 5 of the revised report now calls attention to the fact that the contributions of all members of this Committee will be found in the Committee's public records.
4. In considering the desirability of attaching documents, the co-Chairmen were of the view that it would not be helpful to attach the documents (ENDC/192,193) which the USSR and United States delegations have submitted to this Committee. These documents contain partial drafts of a non-proliferation treaty. Accordingly it would be difficult for Members of the General Assembly to make effective use of other documents, most of which are related to the incomplete treaty draft. In paragraph 6 it is now made clear that the Committee does intend to submit "a full report, including all relevant documents, as soon as possible". We do not intend that the documents of this Committee -- and, more specifically, the contributions of Committee members -- should be withheld from the United Nations General Assembly and the United Nations Disarmament Commission. On the contrary, we fully intend to provide all the relevant documents to the General Assembly and the Disarmament Commission, but at the time when this would be of assistance to those bodies.

(Mr. Foster, United States)

5. We are faced with a practical problem. The United Nations is, presumably, in the last few days of activity for the current session. We believe we have suggested to this Committee an interim report which would adequately inform the United Nations of the status of our work. If we do not act promptly, we will defeat our purpose. I would request all my colleagues to recognize that the essential purpose of this report is to inform the General Assembly that we are continuing our work and that we shall provide a full report later. If our draft report is adopted today, as I hope it will be, we would request that the Special Representative of the Secretary-General be asked to telegraph the text to New York, in view of the urgency of providing our report to the General Assembly.

6. The CHAIRMAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translation from Russian): I should like to say a few words in my capacity as representative of the Soviet Union. As my co-Chairman the United States representative, Mr. Foster, has already indicated, the co-Chairmen have carefully studied and considered the views expressed by the representatives of various delegations in connexion with the interim report of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament. In doing so, the co-Chairmen based themselves on the Committee's decision that at this time, having regard to the present stage in our work, it would be possible to transmit to the United Nations General Assembly a provisional or interim report.

7. The Committee is continuing its work of considering the questions on its agenda, and in the first place the problem of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. The necessity of submitting an interim report arises because the session of the United Nations General Assembly is nearing its end and, according to the Assembly's current resolutions, we are to inform it of the situation in regard to the discussion of the questions referred to the Committee by the Assembly.

8. In preparing the revised version of the report to the General Assembly the co-Chairmen, as Mr. Foster has already indicated, have done their utmost to take into account the views expressed by our colleagues at the previous meeting of the Committee; and we hope that aim has been achieved in the report which is now submitted for your consideration. On the question whether or not to attach to the report the documents submitted by various delegations during the current session of the Committee, the Soviet delegation would like to point out to-day, as he did at the last meeting, that it does not consider that to attach the Committee's documents to the interim report to the General Assembly would be appropriate. To do appears all the less appropriate since we understand that there is no unanimity in this regard among the various delegations in the Committee.

(The Chairman, USSR)

9. Some delegations would like to attach their documents to the Committee's report; others object to this on the grounds that to submit the documents to the General Assembly while the Committee is continuing its work on the top-priority item of its agenda -- the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons -- would give the General Assembly an inaccurate and, I would say, wrong idea of the situation in regard to the consideration of that question.
10. We should like to emphasize once again -- and this has already been pointed out by the representative of the United States -- that the intention is to submit an interim report, which by no means excludes but, on the contrary, directly provides for the transmission to the General Assembly of a complete report in due course, when that becomes necessary on the completion of our work; and that report will have to be accompanied by all the documents relating to this question. The submission of such a report in due course would help the General Assembly to acquaint itself fully with the results of our Conference's work on the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. This point of view, we understand, has been expressed by many members of the Committee who have spoken at previous meetings.
11. In the opinion of the Soviet delegation, the task of the Committee is to concentrate its attention to the utmost degree on the solution of outstanding problems and, in doing so, to take into account the views of the various States which have been expressed during the discussion, so that this important international agreement may reflect to a sufficiently full extent the opinion of the various States which are striving for the earliest possible conclusion of a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.
12. With that I should like to conclude my statement as representative of the Soviet Union. Now as Chairman, I should like to ask if any other representatives wish to speak.
13. Alhaji SULE KOLO (Nigeria): The Nigerian delegation would like to congratulate the co-Chairmen on the new draft, which has gone a long way towards meeting the proposals for amendment made on 5 December (ENDC/PV.353). On the other hand, the new draft does not reflect the amendment proposed by Italy (ibid., para.20) with regard to the last paragraph of the report. I should have thought that the Italian amendment would not raise any problems of acceptance, as it was intended to state a fact. However, the co-Chairmen have not explained why the amendment has not been accepted. The Nigerian delegation wonders whether that is an oversight. I am here referring to the proposal that the second sub-paragraph of paragraph 6 be amended by substituting the word "transmitted" for the word "submitted".

14. Mr. CARACCILO (Italy): I should like to join the representative of Nigeria in thanking the co-Chairmen for their efforts in meeting some of the suggestions made during our last meeting. The Italian delegation still believes that the first remark it made the other day is valid, namely --

"... that this report would better fulfil its purpose by informing the General Assembly more specifically about our work, either by including the texts of the various documents that have been issued during the session, ...or by including a short account of the different positions that have arisen in the course of our work." (ibid. para.19)

Nevertheless, to show our spirit of co-operation and also to give proof of our appreciation of the efforts made by the co-Chairmen, I will not insist on our view.

15. As regards the other point raised, the point of procedure concerning the last sentence of the report, I should like to add a further explanation of the reason which prompted me to ask for a change in the wording. It was not merely a question of consistency with a word used in another part of the text or of a Byzantine discussion of the value of a certain word which, I understand, may have different meanings in different languages. The idea of the Italian delegation was that we should conform to the spirit and the letter of resolution 2153 (XXI) adopted by the General Assembly, which says in its paragraph 8 : "Requests the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament to submit to the General Assembly..." (ENDC/185). That is why we asked that the word "submit" be changed to "transmit". However, again in a spirit of co-operation and with the object of finding wording that would be acceptable to the co-Chairmen, I should like to make a further minor suggestion, which I hope the co-Chairmen will be able to accept. I suggest that the last sentence be amended to read as follows: "This report is submitted by the co-Chairmen at the request of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament." That would be a small alteration which I hope the co-Chairmen would not find too difficult to accept.

16. Mr. FOSTER (United States of America): I am very happy that in general the results of the labours in which the two co-Chairmen have engaged have been accepted, at least by the representatives of Nigeria and Italy.

17. I feel that I must comment on the suggestions by the representative of Italy. As he is aware, in order to meet his concern as expressed at our last meeting and in view of the fact that the Committee is submitting a report to the General Assembly of the United Nations, the first paragraph was changed to reflect his suggestion by altering the word "transmits" to "submits".

(Mr. Foster, United States)

18. As for his suggestion to use the words "at the request of", I think that would be more of a substantive change than perhaps he is aware of. For several years it has been the practice of this Committee to utilize the co-Chairmen as its agent with regard to procedures, including the final submission of the report to the United Nations. A change from the wording "on behalf of" would reflect a constitutional change from our procedures over the past five years. While it may seem unimportant, I think the procedures have borne out their value over the years, and I would respectfully suggest that it might be wiser to use the same wording as has always been used in the submission of the reports of this Committee to the General Assembly. The change in the first paragraph makes it perfectly clear that it is the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament which submits the report; but procedurally it is done by the co-Chairmen on behalf of the Conference.

19. Mr. CARACCILO (Italy) (translation from French): I thank the representative of the United States for the explanations he was good enough to give us. The Italian delegation thinks differently about the constitutional value, as defined, of this document; but it does not wish to prevent the conclusion of an agreement nor the punctual transmission of the report to the United Nations General Assembly. I will therefore not press the point; but I desire that the objection made by the Italian delegation to the procedure adopted should appear in the verbatim record of this meeting.

20. Mr. TRIVEDI (India): We have listened with great interest and appreciation to the statements made by our co-Chairmen: the representative of the United States and yourself, Mr. Chairman, in your capacity as representative of the USSR. We are particularly happy that the various suggestions which my delegation made for the improvement of the draft interim report have been accepted by the co-Chairmen.

21. We feel that the revised draft (6 December) is a great improvement upon the earlier draft. However, we cannot help referring to the fact that the suggestion made by the delegation of Brazil and supported by other delegations, including ourselves, has unfortunately not been found acceptable. This is an interim status report, as mentioned in paragraph 4 of the document; and logically a status report should explain the present status of the situation -- that is, the two draft treaties and the various proposals made for their improvement. That would have been the proper kind of interim status report to send to the General Assembly.

22. At the same time, we are conscious of the very valid points made by the representatives of the United States and the USSR, particularly their statements that, speaking as representatives of their respective countries, they do not at the moment

(Mr. Trivedi, India)

wish the treaty drafts submitted by them to be transmitted to the General Assembly and the Disarmament Commission. That automatically implies that other documents meant to improve and add to those drafts would have less relevance.

23. I am also conscious of the very valid point made by Alhaji Sule Kolo at our last meeting:

"Actually the purpose of this present exercise is to ensure that some form of report be sent as quickly as possible to the General Assembly while we continue our work here." (ENDC/PV.353, para.65).

I think that was the supreme consideration which Alhaji Sule Kolo mentioned, and it is very valid. I notice that the representatives of the United States and the Soviet Union mentioned that consideration. Therefore the Indian delegation will be very happy to accept the report as it is and will agree to its transmission telegraphically as proposed.

24. Alhaji SULE KOLO (Nigeria): I should like to ask whether the co-Chairmen could tell us why they insist that the fact that they are transmitting the report on our behalf should not be stated. In other words, why cannot "submitted" be replaced by "transmitted", as I suggested in my earlier intervention?

25. Mr. da COSTA GUIMARAES (Brazil): I should like to congratulate our co-Chairmen -- you, Mr. Chairman, and Mr. Foster -- on the improvements they have so quickly made to the text of our report. As the Brazilian delegation pointed out in its statement at the 353rd meeting, we were -- as we still are -- much concerned with expediting the report to the General Assembly. Sharing the view expressed by the representative of India, Mr. Trivedi, the Brazilian delegation believes that this new draft, if approved by our Committee, will make it possible for the world community to express, in the debate in the General Assembly, its views on the subject dealt with in our report. We have no doubt that our negotiations will benefit from the debate thereon and that, to use once again Alhaji Sule Kolo's words, equitable and lasting solutions will emerge from it.

26. The CHAIRMAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translation from Russian): If I correctly understand the present situation in the Committee, all the members of the Conference who have spoken have expressed approval of the draft report to the General Assembly (6 December) as a temporary and interim report. Only one word is now in issue, and that, I should say, chiefly concerns the English language, since in Russian the two words have very nearly the same if not an identical meaning. I should therefore like to know the Committee's opinion, so that we may reach unanimity on this question of the last sentence and the one word.

(The Chairman, USSR)

27. The present report is submitted by the co-Chairmen of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament; and here two English words have come up: "submit" and "transmit". On this question I would ask my co-Chairman, the representative of the United States, whether by way of answer to the representative of Nigeria he could give his opinion on this word which, if I may use the term, is now an "apple of discord" among us.

28. Mr. FOSTER (United States of America): The basis of my support for the present formulation is simply that it has been our custom to use that formulation for perhaps five full reports and several interim reports -- though perhaps none was of the importance of this particular report. Any change in that formulation would be a deliberate decision implying that the formulation used in the past was not adequate to describe what we had done or what we were doing. I think it would raise more questions than it answered. Therefore I would plead with our interpreters of the English language to leave well enough alone, if I might put it that way.

29. The original word "transmits" in the first paragraph of the previous draft (1 December) was criticized. Therefore, in the interest of consistency and to make it clear that this was basically an action of the Committee itself, we changed the word "transmits" in the first paragraph to "submits". The last paragraph is identical in form to that which has been appended to all the reports with which I am familiar, beginning in 1962; and any change would imply a deliberate decision to change the procedures under which this Committee has operated since 1962. Although not a major point, it could perhaps cast some doubt on procedures which have up to now been found acceptable by this Committee.

30. Alhaji SULE KOLO (Nigeria): Since my United States colleague and I are both interpreters of the English language, and neither the United Kingdom representative nor the Indian representative is helping us out, I will not press the point. However, the issue is one not of interpretation but of fact. Are the co-Chairmen transmitting the report or not? That was the issue I had in mind. It was not one of interpretation. I would remind my United States colleague that this year there has been another departure, inasmuch as the proposal made by the representative of Brazil has not received the acceptance of the co-Chairmen. In other words, this year we are not submitting the usual form of report. Therefore, if his argument is that past reports have been in a certain form and that a departure from that form would cause raised eyebrows, I would suggest that we have already departed from the usual practice. However, in the interest of expediting the matter, I will not press the point, if the representative of Italy also wishes to drop his suggestion.

31. Mr. PORTER (United Kingdom): As another English speaker, I feel I should say something about this matter. There is, as we all know, a difference in meaning, a slight nuance of meaning, between "transmit" and "submit"; but surely that has been known for the past five years. If the procedure up to now has been to use the word "submit", I feel we should continue to do so.

32. Mr. TRIVEDI (India): My understanding of the question raised by the representative of Nigeria is that this is the report of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament. That is the first point. The second point is that this is a report which is transmitted by the two co-Chairmen on behalf of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament. As, procedurally, it has to be submitted by a kind of steering authority -- some representative who will sign the report on our behalf -- it is being submitted by the two co-Chairmen on behalf of this Committee. That, I think, is the slight difference in meaning to which the United Kingdom representative referred. The fact remains, as I mentioned in my first two points, that this is the report of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament and is transmitted by the two co-Chairmen on our behalf. It has to be submitted by some authority on our behalf, and it is so submitted by the two co-Chairmen.

33. The CHAIRMAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translation from Russian): As the Chair understands the situation, the question of the wording of the draft report of the Committee to the General Assembly is settled unanimously. It may therefore be assumed that this question may now be regarded as settled unanimously and therefore, if there is no objection, disposed of. If that is the view of all the other members of the Committee, then we could end the discussion on this question of the submission of the Committee's report to the General Assembly.

34. Mr. CARACCILO (Italy) (translation from French): Excuse me for speaking again, but unfortunately I am not convinced by the arguments advanced against acceptance of my amendment. Even if precedents exist, I do not think that the Committee is bound by any procedure; in fact it is entitled to choose its own. Moreover, as the Nigerian representative remarked, other changes have been made in the usual procedure. I therefore reaffirm the Italian position, which is not opposed to approval of the report, and desire the objection to the procedure adopted, which is not in accordance with the spirit or the letter of the instructions of the United Nations, to appear in the record.

35. The CHAIRMAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translation from Russian): The situation here is, then, that the opinion of the representative of Italy, and of all the other members of the Committee who have expressed their views in the discussion of the draft report to the General Assembly, will of course be fully set out in the record of this meeting which will be submitted to the General Assembly like the records of previous meetings of the Committee.
36. Does any member of the Committee desire to speak on the question under discussion, which is the report, or on any other matter before the Committee? Since no member desires to speak, we will proceed to the draft communiqué concerning today's meeting of the Committee.

The Conference decided to issue the following communiqué:

"The Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament today held its 354th plenary meeting in the Palais des Nations, Geneva, under the chairmanship of H.E. Ambassador A.A. Roshchin, representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

"Statements were made by the representatives of the United States, the USSR, Nigeria, Italy, India, Brazil and the United Kingdom.

"The Conference adopted an interim report of the Committee's deliberations for the period 21 February 1967 to 7 December 1967 to be transmitted to the United Nations General Assembly and the United Nations Disarmament Commission.

"The next meeting of the Conference will be held on Tuesday, 12 December 1967, at 10.30 a.m."

The meeting rose at 11.30 a.m.